1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha, of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iberrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not [16]
the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than 167
the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in 241
which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as 231
beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the [492]
people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley 241
harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and [251]
almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

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685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

161 221 464 The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Morocans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[113] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join [167] in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[113]

161 167 171 These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[113] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[113]

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[113] [113] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[113] [113] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[113] [113] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[113] [113] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1953), 423–459.